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III.—ON THE ENGLISH PERFECT PARTICIPLE USED INFINITIVALLY.

"As in olde feldes cornes freshe and grene grewe,
So of olde bookes commeth our cunnyng newe."

JOHN HARDYNG.

"At this time," writes Dr. Thomas Fuller, "*began* the troubles in the Low Countreys, about matters of religion, *heightned* between two opposite parties, Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants,"¹ etc. Quoting these words, Dr. Peter Heylin objects: "Not at this time, viz., 1618, which our author speaks of, but some years before. They were now come unto their height,"² etc. Fuller thereto replies: "A causlesse cavil.³ I said not, absolutely, they now *began*, but now they *began heightned*."⁴ The animadverto

¹ *The Church-History of Britain* (1655), Book X, p. 77.

² *Examen Historicum* (1659), Part I, p. 187.

³ Not at all so; Heylin's stricture being on an historical statement only, and not on Fuller's way of putting it. Fuller has it that the "troubles" were nearing their acme in 1618; Heylin, that they had then reached their acme. While encountering an objection which had not been raised, Fuller says not a word about his extraordinary disjunction of "*began*" and "*heightned*."

⁴ In the English of literature, despite Dr. Henry More, Milton, and others, even *gin*, governing, as it generally did, another verb without the intervention of *to*, had become antiquated some time before Fuller's day; and *begin*, similarly constructed, seems to have fallen into desuetude earlier still, by a considerable interval. How far Fuller may have been borne out by the colloquial usage of his contemporaries, in omitting *to* after his "*began*," is a point which it is impossible to determine.

To those who wrote, for instance, "he began *rear* a house" and "do not suffer him *rob* me," the passive constructions "the house began *reared*" and "they suffer me *robbed* by him" cannot have appeared violent. Yet such constructions, from their omitting "be," are not strictly consequential, as is, from "he *is digging* the grave," "the grave *is being dug* by him," in which expressions we simply have, in turn, "is" prefixed to the imperfect participle active and to the imperfect participle passive.

But passive constructions in which only "to" is left out before the perfect participle are not unknown.

"And yit a nother sawe of behoves *be spoken*." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), in Hearne's *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle* (ed. 1810), p. 172.

knows full well that such participles equivalet infinitives.⁵ . . . The troubles in the Low Countries *began heightned*, that is, *to*⁶ *heightned*. The distemper was bred some years before, which now came to the paroxism thereof, viz., anno 1618."⁷

That Fuller is not seen to have appealed to preceding writers, as warranting his "*began heightned*,"⁸ is significant. The fact is,

"He suffred his owne bodye *be woundid* for the." Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 44 (ed. 1879). "Cordell, his doughter, did hym *be beried* at Leycetur." *Ibid.*, p. 52. "Thow shalt make *be callid* to the al the lordes and cheveteyns of the empire." *Ibid.*, p. 251. See also *ibid.*, pp. 203, 311.

"It oughte *be seid*"; "alle the religiouns . . . forbeden thilk religioun *be doon* and *usid*." Bp. Reginald Pecock, *Repressor*, etc. (about 1456), pp. 256, 478, 479. See also pp. 331, 453. "*Be undirnome*," "*be blamed*," and "*be had*" are found at pp. 435, 456, 463, after "worthi."

"Saluste saieth that there ought great glorie *be gyven* to theym that have done veraie hygh and great actes." Lord Berners, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (1534), sig. B 5 r (ed. 1546).

"Ought that *be granted* to force, which was denied to love?" "Hee caused the enemies spoiles *bee erected*." Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, *Romulus and Tarquin* (1637), pp. 71, 88. See also pp. 93, 125, 159, etc.

"Though poets . . . made a prison *be despised*," etc. *Id.*, *Man Become Guilty* (1650), p. 384. See also pp. 27, 28, 32 (*quinquies*), etc.

"To make that *be better understood* which we said before," etc. Sir Richard Baker, *Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus* (1642), p. 363. See also pp. 24, 62, etc.

"He employed the rest of that day in making the inclinations of the inhabitants *be sounded*," etc. Sir Aston Cockain (?), *Cassandra* (1652), p. 219.

⁵ From St. Matthew's Gospel and Vergil, respectively, Fuller here adds, as affording expressions parallel to his "*began heightned*," "*εἰρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχονσα, pro ἔχειν*," and "*sensit medios delapsus in hostes, pro delapsus se esse*." With these passages compare, as approximate, "they were seen *running* away," and "he felt *injured*." It is observable, however, that Fuller's "*pro ἔχειν*" is gratuitous, and that—differently from "it continues *running*," the alternative of "it continues *to run*,"—"seen *running* away" is not necessarily the same as "seen *to run* away."

⁶ Mr. James Nichols, who makes as if editing very critically the work here quoted, silently prints "to be." See *The History of the University of Cambridge*, etc. (1840), p. 544.

⁷ *The Appeal of Injured Innocence* (1659), Part II, p. 98.

⁸ Fuller's use, as above, of the perfect participle suggests such locutions—common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but seemingly traceable somewhat before,—as John of Trevisa's "*is to menyng*," instead of "*is to mean*"; locutions which by no means "died out about the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century," as the Rev. Dr. Richard Morris asserts. Udall, in his *Roister Doister*, written after the middle of the sixteenth century, has "*taught to hissing* and *licking*" and "he hath somewhat *to dooing*." Striking,

that his was an age when it was the rule for every one to rest mainly on his own authority for the way in which he handled English, and when an author, on finding his language impeached, was

however, is John Evelyn's: "He first begins with commanding them to *hungering* and *thirsting* after righteousness." *History of Religion* (1657-1683), Vol. II, p. 137 (1850).

Though, in the aforesaid phrases, we have, to the eye and ear, the substitution of the present participle for the present infinitive, the supposition, which has been made by grammarians, that those who early employed them, whether in speech or on paper, merely corrupted the old infinitival termination, is one that does not lack plausibility.

In one and the same page are to be found, besides "in tyme *comyng*," the forms "in tyme to *comyn*" and "in any tyme to *comyng*." Anon., *Chronicle*, etc. (about 1469?), p. 131 (Camden Society, 1876). A little later occurs: "And they founde this one squyre to *herynge* his masse besyde Saynt Edwardes shryne; and there they slewe hym, the whiche was called Hawell." Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (about 1483), sig. Z 1 r. (ed. 1510). But the original edition of this work has "hering" instead of the later "to *herynge*." Both Wynkyn de Worde and Julian Notary insert "to" in this place. See note 20 at p. 304, *infra*.

The terminations *-en* and *-ing* have freely been confounded. A familiar instance is seen in *beholding*, "indebted," for *beholden*, used in 1469 and about 1471, by Sir Thomas Malory and Sir John Fortescue, respectively, and by scores of authors thence onward till after 1700. The nature of this corruption is, presumably, phonetic. A book published in the time of the Commonwealth gives, to illustrate "such words as are altogether alike in sound," the sentence: "For the *beholding* of it I am *beholden* to him." Richard Hodges, *The Plainest Directions for the True Writing of English*, etc. (1649), p. 5.

Owing, as in "gold *owing* him,"—a use current ever since 1455, or earlier,—is hastily asserted, by Bp. Lowth, to be changed from *owen*, perfect participle of *owe*. Such a participle I find twice in the *Paston Letters*; but it is, pretty certainly, to be accounted a provincialism. In the old "gold *owen* him," *owen* is the uncontracted form of the adjective *own*, "proper," "appertaining," and governs a dative. Hence, in "gold *owing* him," we have, it seems, together with the mistake of one word for another, *-en* altered, by slovenliness of utterance, to *-ing*.

In the Wyclifite Gospels, "hym sittynge," "us slepinge," "him herd," "him forsakun," etc., afford samples of the case absolute. Add "hym unwyttynge" (*Select English Works of John Wyclif* (1869-1871), Vol. III, p. 281), to signify "he being unaware"; and compare "she wold do it, *unwitting* you or any of her freinds" (Godfrey Green, 1464, in the *Plumpton Correspondence*, p. 11). Through noteworthy ignorance, Thomas Denyes (1454) and John Paston (1470) wrote "myn unwetyng" and "my onwetyng" (*Paston Letters*, ed. 1872-1875, Vol. I, p. 287, and Vol. II, p. 412). Sir John Paston's "his unwarys" and "your onknowleche," in the same work, Vol. II, pp. 328 and 393, also deserve passing mention.

Of *unwitting*, as a corruption of *unwitten*,—which corruption might, but for explanation, be surmised in "hym *unwyttynge*," quoted just above,—I know of

generally wont, if he offered any defence at all, to content himself with a reference to Latin or Greek, often more or less inapposite or fallacious.

but one instance: "In the meane season, Kyng Henry, . . . *unwittyng* to Edward, gat Duresme," etc. Richard Grafton, Continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle* (1543), fol. 3.

As to *unknowyng*, there is nothing wrong, most probably, in "*unknowyng* the said peple wherfore it was" (Anon., *An English Chronicle*, before 1471, p. 62, ed. 1856); but *unknowyng* indubitably holds, in divers passages, the place of *unknown*. "He thought that the provost, . . . whiche secretly, *unknowynge* to no man, bare and had on his flesshe the hayre," etc. *Knight of La Tour-Landry* (about 1372?), p. 189. "'*Unknowynge* to the,' quod the seconde broder, 'he gave me al that is in brede, length, and depnes of that sayd tree; and therefore I have as grete ryght in the tree as thou.'" Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 432 (ed. 1879). "As it is not *on knowyng* to yow that I had," etc. John Paston, Jr. (1462), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Völ. II, p. 119. "The kyng, . . . after that he perceaved they were sore punyshed and polled *unknowyng* to hym, restored to them their mony," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), Continuation, etc. (*ut supra*), fol. 142. "My commissioners, *unknowyng* to me, when they were at the church, charged the dean," etc. Abp. Matthew Parker (1568), in *Correspondence*, etc., p. 312 (1853). "So that hee wilbe lesse offended with the hurt and losse of those things that hee hath lent, and were gently asked him, then with those which, *unknowyng* to him, by force and against his will they have taken from him, yea, though they bring them afterwards hole and sound againe." Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, Books III, IV, fol. 115 v. (ed. 1568). See, also, Fabyan, as cited in Dr. Richardson's *Dictionary*.

Seen and *overseen*, in their discarded senses of "versed" and "in error," seem to be most easily explained as phonetic depravations of *seeing* and *overseeing*. "To have a sight in" once meant "to be conversant with." Add, probably, *mistaken*, as in "you are *mistaken* in supposing," etc.

Different, of course, from the corruptions here instanced is *lending*, for *lent*,—a style of substitution which here and there blemishes the English of Shakespeare,—in the passage subjoined:

"But, since that, in the world, all things are graunted, not during life, but as *lending*, whych ought to bee rendered the day following," etc. Sir Thomas North, *Dial*, etc. (*ut supra*, ed. 1568), Books III, IV, fol. 68 r.

We find *parischings*, for *parishens*,—(French *paroissiens*), now lengthened into *parishioners*,—in the *Apology for Lollard Doctrines*, a treatise of the age of Wyclif. Other works of about the same time likewise occasionally tack *g* to a final *n*, as in *basyng* and *gardyng*, seen in an early translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*; and Sir John Fortescue has *reyssynges*, for *raisins*. *Hobgobling* and *kitching* competed, for ages, with the more etymological forms now established; and few readers of our oldish literature can be unacquainted with *buskings*, *chickings*, *cousing*, *culvering*, *flanning*, *javeling*, *frankling*, *mandaring*, etc. etc. Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, goes so far as to write of an *arch-flanning*. With respect to the obsolete *popeling*, "papist,"—instead of which Abp. Maxwell puts

It having been shown that the idiom under consideration has been explicitly recognized, the simplest form of it, or that in which the perfect participle, by itself, or annexed to an auxiliary, stands

papeling and *papling*,—it is hardly questionable that it is only *papalin* (Italian *papalino*), Sir Richard Baker's *popeline*. *Housyng* or *housing*, long often a plural, I do not here add, being cautioned, by the Rev. Professor Skeat, against post-dating it to *housen*: and Mr. Thomas Arnold's departure from manuscript authority, and insertion, in his text, of *housen*, displacing *housyng*, may be a step too venturesome. See *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, Vol. III, p. 336.

Richard Hodges, already quoted in this note, instances, at pp. 27, 31, 34, as "nearly alike in sound," *coffin* and *coughing*, *cummin* and *coming*, *jerkin* and *jerking*, *pullen* and *pulling*.

On the other hand, Capgrave has *songin*, for *singing*; and *tarrying*, *touching*, *working*, etc., were now and then similarly maimed by writers of his century, as they are by many vulgar speakers still. In writing, no less than in speaking, ill-educated Irishmen often put *been* and *seen* for *being* and *seeing*.

Stockens was, for a long time, quite as customary as *stockings*, the correct word, a diminutive.

The by-point now dismissed having, though from no lack of materials, been treated succinctly, I would say a few words on another old idiom, alike strange and rare, in a way cognate thereto by opposition.

"A man, doynge a trespasse ayenst almighty God, and *lye* longe in it, offendeth more greuously than," etc. "Therefore, let every synner, . . . not spekyng one thyng, and *thynke* an other," etc. Bp. Fisher (1509), *English Works*, Part I (1876), pp. 203, 257. "*Lye*" and "*thynke*" are here for "*lying*" and "*thinking*"; the seeming infinitives being, really, present participles, less by their termination, which is to be resumed from "*doynge*" and "*spekyng*."

"Returning were as tedious as *go o'er*." Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act III, Scene IV. "*Go*" may, however, be for "*to go*."

And the present participle did not stand alone in being apocopated as above.

"Thou promist and *assurid* me," etc. Anon., *An English Chronicle* (before 1471), p. 16 (in the *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. I).

"He extolleth . . . and *diminish* the aid of the French king toward us," etc. Abp. Cranmer (1531), *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters* (1846), p. 231.

"Forsomuch as he . . . hath and *do sit* in place of judgment there," etc. Abp. Parker (1573), *Correspondence* (1853), p. 431.

"That man, therefore, that walloweth in idlenes lappe, and that *vouchsafe* not," etc. Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, fol. 362 (ed. 1582). In the edition of 1568, Books III, IV, fol. 106, the reading is *vouchsafeth*, on which, perhaps, the writer thought he improved, by substituting *vouchsafe*.

"Vulgar and too open speech abaseth them and *make* them vilified." Sir Richard Baker, *Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus* (1642), p. 378.

In what follows, a substantival termination is to be inferred, not resumed, from a word preceding: "Oportunitee and *likely* [*i. e.*, *likelihood*] of spede putteth a manne in courage," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), Continuation, etc. (*ut supra*), fol. 37. The same reading is found in Grafton's other edition of 1543, fol. 38. In his *Chronicle* (1568), p. 759, appears "*likelihoode*."

for the present infinitive⁹ active, in function or in form, shall first be exemplified:¹⁰

"He assigned Harald to Ingland, to *had* it in fee." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), in Hearne's *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle* (ed. 1810), p. 51.

"Hym hade bene better, in good faye, *Hade*¹¹ spared oyntmente that daie." *Chester Plays* (about 1328?), Vol. II, p. 12.

"The Emperour hathe do *cried*¹² a grete feste generall to all." Anon.,

The sorts of ellipsis exemplified above were long very common with reference to one or more of several connected adjectives, also.

"This way semeth muche easier and *facile* then the other." William Cunningham, M. D., *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1559), p. 85.

"The wisest, *vertuous*, and most curteous princesse of Europa." William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure* (1575), Vol. I, 244 (ed. 1813.)

"All the best and *famous* painters of our times." Richard Haydocke, Translation of Lomazzo (1598), Part I, p. 117.

The inflexion of adverbs was, likewise, freely omitted. Richard Grafton has "the sooner and *hastely*"; Shakespeare, "cheerfully and *smooth*," etc. etc.

Noticeably, by contrast, Shakespeare has "until her *husband* and my lord's return"; Milton, "your *high* and mightinesses"; Ben Jonson, "*soft* and sweetest"; Sir Thomas Hoby, "*full* and wholly"; Beaumont and Fletcher, "*poor* and busily."

"*Mercy* and chereful loke and countenance," a good enough Germanism, is attributed to Bp. Fisher, in his *English Works*, Part I (1876), p. 254. Two editions of his work on the *Psalms* came out in 1509; and one of them has what is, beyond dispute, the preferable word, "mery," a reading not noticed by Fisher's editor, the Rev. Prof. J. B. Mayor.

⁹ It has not seemed necessary to distinguish, in this paper, between cases where the infinitive is integrated by the introductory *to* and those where it is not so integrated.

¹⁰ Conversely, the present infinitive active is sometimes found used, by poetic licence, instead of the perfect participle. "Had not this humor their stout hearts *allure* To high attempts, their fame had been obscure." Rev. Robert Parsons, *Leycesters Ghost* (1584?), p. 11 (ed. 1641). This passage belongs to an age long posterior to that in which the perfect participle, not only of many strong verbs, but of most verbs derived from Latin supines, had the same form as the infinitive; an age followed by one in which the perfect participle of strong verbs largely came to wear—as it still often wears, though less commonly than some generations back,—the form of the preterite, as in "had *rose*, *smote*, *took*," and the like.

¹¹ The infinitival *to* was, of old, often omitted after *better*.

Alternatively to the construction assumed to be exhibited above, we may suppose an ellipsis, of a sort which was far from unexampled in former times, the suppliant whereof yields "hade *he* spared."

¹² Imprudently, the editor puts "crie" in the text, and relegates "cried," the reading of his MS., to a foot-note.

On the interpretation of "do cried," see note 16, *infra*.

Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum (fourteenth century), p. 15 (ed. 1879). "And, as this waccheman yede from him, he purposid to sitte down and *esid* him selve." *Ibid.*, p. 96. "And therefore he hadde no power but to take him oute of presoune and *presentid* him to his fadir."¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

"I have herd *told* it somtyme, quod I." Chaucer, *Boethius*, p. 27.

"Lord, sith Poule presumed not to *founded*¹⁴ soche sectis, why schulde foles and ydiotes take this upon hom?" *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (1869-1871), Vol. III, p. 419.

"Yif thai had kept Cristis comaundment, Thai schuld never be schamyd ne chent, Ne *lost* here lyfe, ne lond, ne rent, Nouthur hongud¹⁵ ne draw." Rev. John Audelay (1426), *Poems*, p. 1 (Percy Society, 1844).

"He wyl say lyche as he hath herd her *seyd*." Margaret Paston (1448), in the *Paston Letters* (ed. 1872-1875), Vol. I, p. 70. Various persons, whose letters, etc., dated from 1452 to 1469, are given in the same work, write: "He . . . wold have do the sheryff *delyverid* hym owt of prison." "I have . . . don hem *enquered* in dyverse placs." "Jenney had do *warned*¹⁶ the corte there to be the same Friday." "My Lorde desired you to come and *spoken* with hym." "He hathe . . . takyn suche a direccion, that they may *graunted* it ne man but hym." "She hathe *seyd*, syn he departyd hens, but she myght have hym, she wold never *maryd*: hyr hert ys sor set on hym." "He shall Cristis ours [curse?] and mine clenc *tryed*." "You nowther shuld vex, lette, nor *trobilled* the seid endiferent men." "Ther shuld non of my Lords concell, well avysed, *mevyd* to the contrary." Vol. I, pp. 244, 247; Vol. II, pp. 55 (two passages), 104, 142, 237, 362, 368.¹⁷

"But he were presoned, Or els so seke that he myght not *journeid*," etc. John Hardyng, *Chronicle* (fifteenth century), p. 133 (ed. 1812).

"Who that will mete an hardy knyght, lete hym go to hym; for, whom that he smote, *died*¹⁸ hym behoved." ¹⁹ Anon., *Merlin* (1450-1460?), p. 654.

¹³ Correcting the editor's punctuation, I have struck out his comma after "down," and again after "presoune." In so doing, I am justified by the Latin original. "And *esid* him selve" represents "ad purgandum ventrem"; and, in like manner, "presentid" does not render a Latin preterite.

¹⁴ Mr. Thomas Arnold, the editor of the work quoted, gives this as the reading of his single MS., and changes it, perhaps unadvisedly, into "founded."

¹⁵ The perfect participle here does duty for the present infinitive passive; a point considered in the sequel.

¹⁶ In old verse, "had do *warned*" would ordinarily denote "had caused to be *warned*," not "had caused [a person, or persons] to *warn*"; and one cannot say positively which sense is here intended. But see note 36, p. 309, *infra*.

The ambiguity which this passage offers is not the only one of its kind that perplexes me in the present assemblage of quotations.

¹⁷ In Vol. III, p. 116, Sir John Paston (1474) has: "Neverthesse, I assayed hym iff he wolde, iff nede hadde ben, *gyvyn* me," etc. "Gyvyn" is here, almost certainly, the old infinitive.

¹⁸ Here, and often below, the succedaneous participle belongs to an intransitive verb.

¹⁹ The sense is, "it needs befell him to die," "he inevitably died." *Merlin*, though in prose, abounds with verbal transpositions.

"He ordeyned that there schuld no nunne *handeled* the corporas, ne cast none encense in the cherch." Rev. John Capgrave, *Chronicle of England* (about 1464), p. 67.

"There was brought unto him worde that Robert Wellez . . . had doo *made* proclamacions in all the churchez of that shire," etc. Anon., *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire* (1470), p. 6 (in the *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. I).

"The peple . . . demed that it sholde *betokened* sum harm sone aftirward." Anon., *An English Chronicle* (before 1471), p. 63 (Camden Society, 1856).

"What yf ye had herde this my cruell enemy Domesthenes [*sic*] *spoken* these wordes hymselfe," etc. Bp. Fisher (1509), *English Works*, Part I (1876), p. 140.

"Yet shall there never woman *excused*²⁰ her by Lucres." Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (about 1483), sig. D 2 v. (ed. 1510). "He assygned so wyse a man as Traian was to *governed* the people after hym." "He commaunded anone sharply all his men for to *assaylled* the castell." "And the clergyte put it of, and wolde not *graunted* it unto Ester next comynge." *Id.*, *ibid.*, sig. F 2 r., O 4 v., Y 3 r.²¹

"Suffiseth it thee not to have wyllid to *betrayed* mi good mother, without wylling to betraye mortally her sonne?" Robert Copland, *Helyas* (1512), p. 72 (ed. 1827).

"For neyther is a great army of men nor habundance of treasours the chefe socoures or defence of a kyngdome, but, moche rather, trusty and faythefull frendes, whome a man can neyther *compelled*²² by force of armes, nor yet bye

²⁰ On consulting the original edition, which is conjectured to have been printed about the year mentioned in its Prologue, 1483, I find, instead of "excused," "excuse," and, in the passages following in the body of this page, the infinitives "governe," "assail," and "graunte." The change of them into participles probably lies at the door of the republisher.

The verbal deviations of the edition of 1510 from that of the previous century are almost countless. A few more of them I note, as will be seen, on other occasions.

The edition of 1510 was issued by Pynson. In Wynkyn de Worde's prior reprint, and in Julyan Notary's subsequent, dated 1497 and 1515, respectively, the infinitives "excuse," etc., spoken of above, are retained unaltered.

²¹ Under sig. C 3 r. occurs "he wyste not what to *done*." But "done" is not necessarily a perfect participle there.

²² This reading is followed in fol. 6 of Thomas Paynell's "corrected" edition of Barclay's translation published in 1557. But, in Barclay's first edition, which is supposed to have appeared between 1519 and 1524, the word is "compell." Whether we have, in "compelled," a veritable alteration of Barclay's, by way of improvement, is matter of conjecture. At all events, Paynell saw nothing in it worth seriously objecting to.

A similar alteration, almost certainly made in Barclay's age, may here be mentioned. In Caxton's first edition (1477) of Earl Rivers's *Dictes*, etc., occurs: "Whan a man speketh, he ought to considere what he wil *seye*; for better it is he considere than another shold." In Wynkyn de Worde's reprint, dated 1528, we have, instead (sig. E 7 r.): "Whan a man speketh, he ought to consydere afore what he wyll *sayd*; for better it is consydere than an other sholde." Note also the insertion of "afore," the omission of "he," etc.

with golde nor sylver, to parsever in stedfast amyte." Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Sallust*, fol. 9 r. (in the second, undated, edition).

"But it fortunéd yvell for the companyons, who abode and loked ever for their money, trusting to have had it to *arayed* and *aparelled* them lyke men of warr." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (1523-1525), Vol. I, p. 323 (ed. 1812).

"And they stak long, and wold not promyse hym that; but, at the last, they promysed hym, to the intent that they wold have had hym *goyne*: and so the Lordes byleved that he wold have departed." Sir William Bulmer (1524), in *State Papers*, etc., Vol. IV (1836), p. 77.

"He shold not have neded to *forbore*²³ to have done theym," etc. Sir Thomas More (1523?), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., First Series (ed. 1825), Vol. I, p. 204.

"I have wyst her tell many marvyulouse thyngys ere now.' 'Why,' quod the lordis, 'what have you herd her *tolde*?' " *Id.*, *A Dyaloge*, etc., fol. xci r. (ed. 1529).

"What, then, saith my lord of Canterbury to a priest that would have had the New Testament *gone* forth in English?" Rev. William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), in *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (1848), p. 234.

"Kinge Rewtheres, havinge evel succes at home, in his troubles with the Brittons, didde once *avyoyded* his contrie, and fledde into Irelande." Anon., Translation of Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica* (*temp.* Hen. VIII), p. 106 (Camden Society, 1846).

"One Marcellinus, . . . one of the noumbre of those persones whom Pompeius was thought to *had* set on loft, had chaunged his mynde," etc. Rev. Nicholas Udall, *Apophthegmes* (1542), fol. 287 v. "Pompeius wished to *had* been borne²⁴ a poore mannes childe." "He affermed . . . his first advise and counsaill to *had* been muche better." "Menyng hymself never to *had* trusted," etc. "And Drusus, because he loved drynkyng, was, for that, by the commen voice of the people, saied to *had* regenerate his father, Tiberius, and made hym alive again." *Id.*, *ibid.*, fol. 290 v., 297 v., 313 r., 323 v.

"Was it mete for a precher such slander to *beblown*?" George Cavendish (1558), in Mr. Singer's edition of *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, etc., Vol. II, p. III.

"Julius Cesar . . . never let *slypt* one day but that hee read or wrote some thing." Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, Books III, IV, fol. 104 r. (ed. 1568).

"It is like, if you had seene her as the other did, you would have made Mother Ducke *gone* double-ringed thither." Anon., *Questions of Profitable and Pleasant Concernings* (1594), fol. 29 v.

"We would have had you *heard*²⁵ The traitor speak." Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, Act III, Scene V.

²³ An old form, in place of "forborne."

²⁴ This is in the margin. The body of the page has, "for me to *have* been born," etc.

²⁵ The Rev. Dr. E. A. Abbott, in his *Shakespearian Grammar*, p. 250 (ed. 1871), endeavours to make good English here, by inserting "to have" before "heard." The result is altogether irrational.

Even Dr. Abbott, it is to be presumed, would disapprove of the grammar of the ensuing passage, scores like which are easily producible: "And, where

"David . . . sent presently for her husband, to have had him *lien* with her," etc. Rev. William Watson, *A Decacordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions*, etc. p. 219 (ed. 1602).

"Argus his eies doe faile To keep a woman, when she list *misdone*." ²⁶ Nicholas Breton (?), *Cornucopiae* (1612), p. 96 (ed. 1819).

"She would have had him *gone* ²⁷ in with her." Rev. Robert Burton (died 1640), *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Vol. II, p. 330 (ed. 1806).

"He had let me *seene* the misery I went to engage me in." Anon., *Ariana* (1636), p. 30.

"I would have had him to *shewed* me their cloyster-gallerie," etc. John Grenhalgh (1662), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., Third Series (1846), Vol. IV, p. 280.

"I went to his chamber the Friday night I first came; and there he made me stay and sup with him, and would have had me *laid* ²⁸ with him that night, and was extraordinary kind to me." Rev. John Strype (1662), in *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, etc., p. 179 (Camden Society, 1843).

"And mighty kind she is to me, and would fain have had me *gone*, for company, with her to Hinchinbroke." Samuel Pepys (1665), *Diary*, etc. (ed. 1876), Vol. III, p. 208.

"The light of nature would not have let me *gone* ²⁹ so far astray." Dryden, *An Evening's Love* (about 1668), Act I, Scene I.

"I would rather have had it *been* on St. Thomas's day." John Aubrey (about 1680), in Dr. P. Bliss's *Letters of Eminent Persons*, etc., Vol. II, p. 486.

"He . . . would have had him *kept both*." "Dr. D'Avenant would have had me *gone* and drink a bottle of wine at his house hard by," etc. Dean Swift ³⁰ (1710), *Works*, Vol. IV 433; Vol. XIII, p. 134 (ed. 1778). "He would have had me *dined* with him." *Id.* (1711), *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 287.

Your Grace, . . . trusting that he wold have been contente *too have suffred* you to have passed thorowe his contre," etc. Earl of Surrey (1523), in *State Papers*, etc., Vol. IV (1836), p. 10.

See, further, the note after the next.

²⁶ Quite possibly, however, this is an archaism for "misdo."

²⁷ Not at all improbably, Burton would have expanded this into "to have gone," at variance with the logic of language; and a similar remark applies to a good number of passages cited in this paper. The present—or, as it is less frequently, but much more exactly, termed, the indefinite—infinite, "go," expresses what Burton intended.

So far as I know, the perfect infinitive is all but undeviatingly misemployed in the lawless idiom containing "had like," so common in old writers. In "I had like to have come," as the sense is "there was a likelihood of my coming," "to have come" is a vicious prolepsis.

²⁸ For "lain," of course.

²⁹ Sir Walter Scott silently changes this to "go." Just as objectionably, editing De Foe, he seems to impute to him the word "starvation."

³⁰ In his *Gulliver's Travels*, Part IV, Chap. I, he also writes: "I had several men *died*, in my ship, of calentures." This style of phrase is very common among English farmers, with reference to sheep and the like.

"I . . . was in hopes you would . . . have let us *heard* from you." Erasmus Lewis (1717), in Swift's *Works (ut supra)*, Vol. XV, p. 202.

"My men would fain have had me *given* them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark," etc. Daniel De Foe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Vol. I, pp. 318, 319 (ed. 1840).

"He would very submissively have had me *shown* myself as captain." *Id.*, *A New Voyage*, etc. (1725), p. 79 (ed. 1840). "My men would fain have had me *gone* ashore again, and *trafficked* with the people for more gold." "They ought to have let us *known* who they were first." *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 145, 215.

"The apparition . . . would have had Taverner *rode* back his way with him." *Id.*, *The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclosed* (1727), p. 275 (ed. 1840).

"He would have had us *taken* a road which was full of those people we were so much afraid of." Dr. Johnson, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 41 (ed. 1735).

"The girl said, if her master would but have let her *had* money to have sent for proper advice," etc. George Villiers, Vol. II, p. 90.³¹

The next group of quotations exhibits the perfect participle, generally as a constituent of a tense, but sometimes alone, instead of the perfect infinitive active:

"And it had ben wel gouverned, [it] might many a yeere *susteyned* youre verres," etc. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1440), in *Wars of the English in France*, Vol. II (1864), p. 450.

"He myght *revolyd* al Walsynham as he had lyst, as it ys seyde." Margaret Paston (1461), in the *Paston Letters (ut supra)*, Vol. II, p. 29. "I wutte wele, yf I had soo doon, ye wuld nat *assynyd* me . . . that I schuld resseyve," etc. *Id.* (1477), *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 201.

"For the lordys wolde fayne *hadde* hyr unto Lunden; for they knewe welle that alle the workyngys that were done growe by hyr." Anon., *Chronicle*, etc. (about 1469?), p. 209 (Camden Society, 1876).

"That, I kno well, the kyngis grace hade lever *hade*³² be done," etc., John Flamank (1503?), in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, Vol. I, p. 232.

"But who that wolde hym *drawen* out of that hyll Had ben a fole." Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Shyp of Folyes* (1509), Vol. I, p. 227 (ed. 1874).

"A man on his cloke shoulde not *aspyed*³³ a here." *Id.*, *Fyfte Eglog* (about 1520), p. 1 (Percy Society's ed., 1847).

³¹ This extract I take from Dr. Priestley's *Rudiments of English Grammar*, etc., p. 127 (ed. 1768). Of *George Villiers*, which I suppose to be a novel, I have found no other trace.

As it appears from his comment on the extract, Dr. Priestley did not perceive that its "had" should be corrected into the infinitive "have."

³² We have not a case in point here, if "that" is to be understood before his word.

³³ "Aspy," for "espy," is so common, in our older literature, as to render improbable the supposition that "aspyed" is here an error for "a spyed," that is to say, "have spied."

"If the Duke of Lancastre, his cosyn, had nat counsayled hym to have peace, he would nat *agreed*³⁴ therunto." Lord Berners, *Froissart (ut supra)*, Vol. I, p. 255. "Ther myght well *assembled* togyder an eyght thousande men." "Men supposed that he wolde therby *anexed* the countie of Flaunders," etc. "He might wel *escaped*, if he had wolde." "If they coude *amended* it." *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 646, 700; Vol. II, pp. 402, 738.

"If he had discryed their names, thei would, undoubtedly, by and by *addressed* thei themselves to a manifeste sedicion, for veraye feare of punyshement." Rev. Nicholas Udall, *Apophthegmes* (1542), fol. 285 r.

"I ought most rather to *obeyed*." George Cavendish (about 1560), in *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, etc., Vol. I, p. 210 (Singer's ed.).

"And they that should *assisted*, I wote not how they were brysted," Anon., *Godly Queene Hester* (1561), p. 23 (ed. 1873).

"I wolde gladlye *byne* unsupped, soo you had your fyll." Anon., *Jacke Jugeler* (about 1563?), p. 78 (ed. 1873).

"Then should not thus my silly soule *Bene* wrapt in irkesome woe, Nor it have felt the carefull thrall That now is forste to showe." John Norden, *A Sinfull Mans Solace* (1585), fol. 25 v.

"But, by this meanes, in Fraunce we dayly felt such smarte, As might with pitie *perst* an adamantyne harte." Rev. John Higin (1587), in *The Mirrour for Magistrates* (ed. 1815), Vol. II, p. 431.

"For no man doubts but the blood shed . . . might, if God had so beene pleased, *bin* able to have driven the heathen monarch," etc. Henry Chettle, *Englandes Mourning Garment* (1603), in *Shakespeare Allusion Books*, Part I, p. 88.

"Romanus . . . gave order . . . that unto him . . . they should acknowledge *received* the greatest part of the wages," etc. Philemon Holland, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1609), p. 347.

"As a theefe, when he is pardoned, lookes backe to the gallowes, or to the halter that had like to *hangd*³⁵ him, so lookes shee on her son." Rev. Dr. Robert Wilkinson, *A Paire of Sermons*, etc. (1614), p. 11.

"If hee had would, hee might easily, and according to the manner of men, *occupied* the monarchy and domination, for his children and their posterity, uppon all the people of Israel." Rev. Dr. John Donne, *The Auncient History of the Septuagint*, p. 216 (ed. 1633).

"He . . . began . . . to say that he was unworthy of martirdom, which, by his proceedings, he might *seemed* to run upon." Thomas Hayne, *The Life and Death of Dr. Martin Luther* (1641), p. 69.

"Might not a cursory meal *been allowed* them in a running march, a snatch and away?" Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine*, etc., Books I-III, p. 255 (ed. 1650). "The soules of these children are charitably conceived, by the primitive Church, all *marched* to Heaven, as the infantry of the noble army of martyrs." *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 301.

³⁴ Some might be disposed to venture the conjecture that we should read "a greed," meaning "have agreed"; but most of the succeeding passages from Lord Berners go to show that such a conjecture is hardly colourable.

³⁵ The writer of this would, I think, have been to seek for a precedent, if he had offered to explain it otherwise than, however illegitimately, by "have hangd." See the end of note 27 at p. 306, *supra*.

"He is a true prophet, which preacheth the Messiah already *come*, in the person of Jesus; and he a false one, that denyeth him *come*," etc. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (ed. 1651), p. 233.

"This aversion, heighten'd by a vast ambition, . . . had like to *broke* out in the reign of Antoninus Pius." Rev. Jeremy Collier, *The Emperor Marcus Antoninus his Conversation with Himself*, etc. (1701), p. lxxxix.

As in Fuller's "began *heightned*," adduced at the beginning of this paper, the perfect participle has largely been put, by ellipsis, for the present infinitive passive. Extracts in substantiation of this statement here follow:

"Often I haf herd *told*³⁶ of this Duke Roberd, So gode knyght no so bold was non in alle the world." Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), *ut supra*, p. 101.

"Hath Theseus doon *wrought*." Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, l. 1055. "These marchaunts had doon *fraught*." *Id.*, *Man of Lawes Tale*, l. 171. "God, of his mercy, . . . Hath doon yow *kept*." *Id.*, *Clerkes Tale*, *ad fin.*³⁷

"I have herd *told* of Busirides, that was wont," etc. *Id.*, *Boethius*, p. 53.

"For what cause shulde meve the Pope to make him *clepid*³⁸ moost blessid fadir, sith nether truthe ne leve of God moveth that he is ought blessid?" *Select English Works of John Wyclif (ut supra)*, Vol. I, p. 228.

³⁶ We should now say "heard *it told*"; but the full phrase, next after the venerable "heard *tell*," was "heard *to be told*."

Not quite impossible, however, "herd *told*" is instead of "heard *tell*," that is to say, "heard *men tell*." See the quotation from Chaucer at p. 300, *supra* and notes 12, 16, *ibid.*

"Such persones as the [said Sir Ni]cholas shalle do *name* and *apointe*," etc. Sir Nicholas Vaux (1513?) in *The Chronicle of Calais*, p. 204 (*Camden Society*, 1846). "Do [*i. e.*, cause] *name*," as here used, does not match with "heard *tell*" or "heard *say*"; the infinitive active in the expression clearly usurping the place of the infinitive passive. This passage is adduced in preference to others, as affording a late instance of an idiom very common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As "say" was never a participle, there is bad idiom in what follows: "Since his coming, as I *hear say* by such persons as," etc. Abp. Thomas Cranmer (1538), *Miscellaneous Writings*, etc. (1846), p. 373. The context shows that the sense is not, "as I hear, from such persons, etc., that people say."

³⁷ In 1874, the Rev. Professor Skeat, on my consulting him as to Chaucer's using, or not using, the perfect participle in lieu of the present infinitive passive,—*"a most remarkable idiom,"* as he has since called it,—was so good as to direct me to the last of the passages quoted above; and I have to thank him for a recent communication regarding the rest of them.

In *Chaucer*, pp. 122, 123 (1877, Clarendon Press Series), Professor Skeat has a note on the subject in hand, and quotes all the aforesaid passages, together with three parallel ones from Barbour's *Bruce*.

³⁸ While the modern equivalent of this, "make him *called*," is now an obsolete expression, and "make him *to be called*" is obsolescent, we sometimes say "I wish him *rewarded*," "I ordered a boat *built*"; almost without an option,

"Serys, alle these materys I have herd *sayd*." Anon., *Ludus Coventriae* (fifteenth century?), p. 304.

"Sir John Paston, ut asserit, hath optyned me *condempnyd*," etc. William Paston (1425), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 21. "I have . . . doon dewely *examynd* the instrument by," etc. *Id.* (1426), *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 24.

"The Dolphyn, that so horribly made *sleen*³⁹ . . . Johan, Duc of Burgoyne," etc. Lydgate (1426), in *Political Poems and Songs* (1859-1861), Vol. II, pp. 133, 134.

"He made theim *wryten*, for long rememory." John Hardyng, *Chronicle* (fifteenth century), p. 42 (ed. 1812). "He in no wise wolde suffre no childe *slayn*." *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 100.

"Also the kyng grauntyde, the same tyme, that the lyberteys and franchises of the cytte shulde not, aftyr that tyme, for noo cause *takyn*⁴⁰ away into the kyngys honde." Anon., *Chronicle*, etc. (about 1469?), p. 77 (Camden Society, 1876).

"My lord hath do *brokyn*⁴¹ all the passages excep Newham bryge." Edmund Bedyngfeld (1477), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. III, p. 203.

"He became wonder wrothe ayenst Syr Edward, and anone lete hym *arestyd*," etc. Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (*ut supra*), sig. V 2 v. "Kynge Rycharde . . . brought her in to Englonde, and let her *crowned*⁴² quene," etc. *Id.*, *ibid.*, sig. Z 5 r.

"Wherefore we beseke your good maystirshyp . . . to make our exkuse to hym, and to do hyse lordshyp *presentyd* with a porpeyse, whiche we send yow be the brynger of thys." Anon. (1491), in the *Paston Letters* (*ut supra*), Vol. III, pp. 370, 371.

"He is onely to *byleved*, and hys onely sonne, of whom him self commaunded." Sir Thomas More, *A Dyaloge*, etc., fol. xli, r. (ed. 1529).

"He gave them the rainbow to be a sign of the promise, for to make it the

"he will see it *done*," "they would have it *sent*"; and invariably, "get this *mended*," etc. etc. In a good number of the instances bracketed with that to which this note is attached, the strangeness, to us, results from there being something archaic in the contextual employment of the governing verbs.

Most of these verbs are from among those after which, in regimen, the infinitival "to" was once, or is still, at times dispensed with. A list of them is given in Vol. II, p. 294, note 34.

³⁹ But it is doubtful whether this is not an infinitive.

⁴⁰ This seems the less singular, when it is borne in mind that "ought *take*" was long good idiom, and that, of old, much more generally than now obtains, "should" implied obligation. See the end of the note before the last.

⁴¹ See note 16 at p. 303, *supra*.

⁴² In the original edition of the work quoted, the readings instead of the words italicized above are "be arested" and "be crowned." Wynkyn de Worde and Julian Notary omit "to" before "arestyd," but allow it to remain before "crowned." See note 20 at p. 304, *supra*.

better *believed*,⁴³ and to keep it in mind for ever." Rev. William Tyndale (date uncertain), in *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (1848), p. 348.

"Ye woll cause this good and honeste marchaunt, being my Lordis true, faithfull, and loving subjecte, *restored* to his pristine fredome," etc. Anne Boleyn (about 1533?), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., First Series (ed. 1825), Vol. II, p. 46.

"Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides whom I shall hereafter know *suspected* of heresy or errors," etc. Bp. John Bale (1544), *Select Works* (1849), p. 48. "How the priests that time fared, blasphemed, and cursed, requiring the people not to pray for him, but to judge him *damned* in hell," etc. *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 52. "We have, in abundance, the verity of God's word and promise, to prove them both *saved* and *glorified* in Christ." *Id.* (1547), *ibid.*, pp. 245, 246. "How can ye suffer such mischiefs *uncorrected*?" *Id.* (no date), *ibid.*, p. 54.

"If your harte saye that I am a feyned friende, then I take my selfe *condempned*." Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, Books III, IV, fol. 34 (ed. 1568).

"It is their religion that I desire *reformed*, and their Romish practises *detested* and *abhorred*." Rev. Dr. Meredith Hamner, *The Jesuites Banner* (1581), *The Epistle Dedicatorie*.

"Whose father he caus'd *murder'd* in those wars." Rev. Robert Greene (died 1592), *Dramatic Works*, etc. (ed. Dyce), Vol. II, p. 204.

"That they will suffer these abominations . . . By our strong arms from forth her fair streets *chas'd*." Shakespeare, *Lucrece* (1594), l. 1634.

"But, if it operate against his will, it might seeme to turne to the scandall of the omnipotent Creator to suffer his servants, so arrogant in rebellion, *unpunished*."⁴⁴ Richard Dolman, *The French Academie*, Vol. III (1601), p. 707 of the entire work, ed. 1618.

⁴³ Instead of the substantive "make-believe," used by Coleridge, Southey, and Charles Lamb, and familiar to everybody, Cardinal Newman has, more than once, "make-belief"; a form of which there is as little rhematic justification as there is of "hear-saying," for "hearsay."

⁴⁴ Inasmuch as "unpunished" is here only a quasi-participle, this extract, critically, has its appropriate place, with reference to the omission of "to be," in company with miscellaneous passages like those subjoined:

"For, where good ghests may take a cottage gratefull, There such as thou do make a pallace hatefull." Sir John Harington (died 1612), *Epigrams*, Book IV, No. 62.

"As one, therefore, that, in worthy examples, holds imitation better than invention," etc. Bp. Joseph Hall (1608), p. 151 (*ut supra*).

"Gehazi, happily there present, attests her the woman whose son was restored to life." Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight*, etc. (*ut supra*), Books I-III, p. 162. In that work, various non-rhematic parts of speech, as the substantive, the adjective, and the preposition, without the copula "to be," or "to have been," are likewise found after the verbs *allow*, *approve*, *avouch*, *conceive*, *conclude*, *deny*, *intend*, *object*, *presume*, *pretend*, *record*, *resolve*.

"It is ceremonial, because it is inferr'd a legal impurity." Bp. Jeremy Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium* (1660), p. 218 (ed. 1671).

"What meanes your Grace to suffer me *abus'd* thus?" Dr. George Chapman, *Monsieur D'Olive* (1606), Act II.

"The mind that desires them for their owne sakes, and suffers it selfe *taken* up with their sweetnesse as his maine end, is already drunken," Bp. Joseph Hall (1608), *Works*, p. 308 (ed. 1648). "Which, yet, he desires secretly *borne*." *Id.* (1608), *ibid.*, p. 177.

"But I, . . . Knowing his death would cause the Muses *slaine*, . . . Doe give," etc. Christopher Brooke, *A Funerall Elegie on the Prince* (1613), sig. B 2 v.

"When Leo desired Peter to amend his epistle, hee meant more then to desire him to procure it *amended* of God by his prayers." E. W., *More Worke for a Masse-priest* (1621), p. 35.

"The nobility of Japan, being full of children, do usually take a course to procure these sonnes of theirs *entered* into the order of the Bontii." Rev. William Freake, *The Doctrines and Practises of the Societie of Jesuities* (1630), p. 23.

"Seldome was known more bloud *spilt*, and a battel sooner *won* by fewer men and with so little losse." Sir Robert Stapylton, *Strada* (1650), Books VIII, IX, p. 52.

"Such towns . . . are not to be presum'd *placed* according to exactness," etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight*, etc. (*ut supra*), Books I-III, p. 46. Also *ibid.*, Books I-III, pp. 35, 199, 253, 345; Books IV, V, pp. 97, 155, 158, 187.

"Of late the fennes nigh Cambridge have been adjudicated *drained*, and so are probable to continue." *Id.*, *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 72 (ed. 1655).

"What his design was, by torturing so many texts of Scripture, to make it *believed* that," etc. Lord Clarendon, *A Brief View and Survey of the . . . Leviathan* (1676), p. 205.

"We must, doubtless, confess the most skilful of our masters much *excelled* by the address of the Dutch teachers, or the abilities of our greatest scholars far *surpassed* by those of Burman." Dr. Johnson (1742), *Works* (ed. 1816), Vol. XII, p. 162. "In the presence of those whom she knows *condemned* to stay at home," etc. *Id.*, *The Idler* (1759), No. 80.

Of very rare occurrence, at least comparatively,⁴⁵ is the omission of "to have been," to the effect of burdening the perfect participle, as below, with the function of the perfect infinitive passive:

"One whom they acknowledge their deliverer," etc. Milton (1670), *Prose Works* (ed. 1868), Vol. V, p. 227. A list of Milton's verbs, matching Fuller's, just given, includes *affirm, decipher, fable, record, report, suppose*, etc., etc.

"First, I am far from granting the number of writers a nuisance to our nation, having strenuously maintained the contrary in several parts of the following discourse." Dean Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*, Preface.

"The Pope, Clement the Twelfth, was commonly supposed her lover," etc. Lady M. W. Montagu (1741), *Letters and Works*, Vol. II, p. 335 (ed. 1837).

⁴⁵ Except, to the best of my information, in the pages of Dr. Thomas Fuller and Milton,—both of them studious affecters of conciseness,—my references to whom, in the latter half of this monograph, might, by the by, have been much more abundant than they are.

‘Wel, sayd Arthur, thow hast said thy message, the which is the most vylay-nous and lewdest message that ever man herd *sente* unto a kyng.’ Sir Thomas Malory, *La Mort Darthur* (1469), Vol. I, p. 42 (ed. Southey).

‘And a strange noveltie it was thought, to have a privat person joyned to the Emperour in that place of dignitie; a thing that no man could remember *done*⁴⁶ since Dioclesian and Aristobulus time.’ Philemon Holland, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1609), p. 217.

‘Yea, we may charitably believe Davids consorts *impoverisht*, not by their own carelessness, but their creditors cruelty.’ Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight*, etc. (*ut supra*), Books I–III, p. 278. Also *ibid.*, Books I–III, pp. 17, 141, 201, 366, 373 (*bis*), 392, 424; Books IV, V, pp. 12, 130, 165 (*bis*), 175, 176, 183, 188.

‘Huntingdon and Mat. Westm. relate it *done* at Oxford by the son of Edric.’ Milton (1670), *Prose Works* (ed. 1868), Vol. V, p. 363. And see, in the same volume, pp. 228, 298, 314, 334.

In connexion with the outworn “make him *clepid*,” it has already been noted that sundry locutions kindred to it are still current.⁴⁷ These excepted, however, the idioms with which this paper

⁴⁶ Optionally, we may here take “done” for “to have been done,” or for “as having been done,” but without much difference on the score of harshness of ellipsis.

⁴⁷ Among elliptical constructions of the perfect participle, going beyond those on which I have been descanting, are such as offer in the passages ensuing:

“The first corde is to bynde me hande and foote, so longe and so strongly, unto the bloode [be] *gone* out on every parte.” Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 142 (ed. 1879).

“Except he [shall have] *done* some dede so great of fame, That all the world may wonder at the same.” Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Egloges* (about 1520), sig. A 4 r. (ed. 1570).

“Whether he ranne awaie, after the deede [had been] *doen*, or had any blood about hym, or trembled, or stakerde,” etc. Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorike* (1553), fol. 47 r. (ed. 1567).

“When, after long solicitation at Athens, and no good [had been] *done*, the fleet was sent away,” etc. Thomas Hobbes, Translation of Thucydides (1629), Vol. I, p. 63 (ed. 1843).

“That check, regret, and disgust which it oft gives to our selves . . . after the sin [has been] *done*,” etc. Anon., *A Discourse of Artificial Beauty* (1656), p. 43 (ed. 1662).

“Yet I hope the king’s service [will be] well *done*, for all this.” Samuel Pepys (1663), *Diary*, etc. (ed. 1876), Vol. II, p. 159.

Again, the auxiliary required by the perfect participle in order to complete a tense is found left unexpressed, as if it were sufficiently determined by the tense of a verb occurring in the previous context of the sentence, or, now and then, by that context as a whole.

“Nevertheless, he dradde moche of the forseid word, and gretly [was] *dullid* therwith.” Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century), p. 68 (ed. 1879). “He saw neither the herte ne the houndes; and

is concerned are no longer recognized as of good repute, although,

so he [was] *beleft* alone; for all his servauntes folowed the herte." *Ibid.*, p. 327. It may be questioned, however, as against the aptness of this quotation, whether the old *beleave* was always transitive. Witness this passage: "As I was a yonge mayden in my faders chambre, and other of grete lygnage were in my company, that ofentymes went to playe and solace, I *belefte* [*i. e.*, stayed?] alone in my chambre, and wolde not go forthe, for brenynge of the sonne." Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (about 1483), sig. G 6 v. (ed. 1510).

"The firste wanhope cometh of that he demyth that he synned so highly and so ofte, and [hath] so longe *layn* in synne, that he schal not be saved." Chaucer, *The Persones Tale, De Tertia Parte Poenitentiae*.

"The quene Isabell . . . Sone after dyed and [was] *buried*," etc. John Hardyng, *Chronicle* (fifteenth century), p. 330 (ed. 1812). "Some fled, some died, some [were] *maimed* there for ever." *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 359.

"Johan, kynge of Fraunce, that afore laye here in hostage, wente home ayen in to his owne londe, to treatte of tho thynges and other that longed and [were] *fallen* to the governaunce of his realme." Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (about 1483), sig. X 6 v. (ed. 1510). But the original edition has "fellen," not "fallen." Wynkyn de Worde and Julyan Notary have "fallen," not "fellen." See note 20 at p. 304, *supra*.

"The Frenchmen kept their grounde a whyle, and many feates of armes [were] there *done* on both partes." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 180. "The hour of supper came, and tables [were] *covered*," etc. *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 181. "He dyd so moche with assaut, that the same nyght he wanne the castell agayne, and all thenglysshmen [were] *taken* and *slayne*." *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 186. "There was a feerse skyrmysshe, and endured long; and many knyghtes and squyers [were] *beaten* doune on both partes." *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 191. "For, if myne enemyes knewe it, they wolde rejoyse, and our frendes [agayne be] *discomforted*." *Id.*, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 399.

"But this story semyth more mervelouse than trew; and, though it hath continued here in Englonde, and [is] *takyn* for a trewth among us Englyshmen, yet other pepull do therefore laugh us to skorne." John Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (1529), p. 4 (ed. 1811).

"And, forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the king's grace, and also great pains and labour [have been] *taken* in setting forth of the same," etc. Abp. Thomas Cranmer (1537), *Miscellaneous Writings*, etc. (1846), p. 344.

"No man hath hindered the matter so much as this prior, nor no superstition [been] more *maintained* than by this prior." *Id.* (1538), *ibid.*, p. 376.

"His corps . . . ther lay all that daye, and, on the morow folowing, [was] *conveyed*," etc. Richard Grafton (1543), *Continuation*, etc. (*ut supra*), fol. 24. "So that the Englishe ambassadours returned again to their countree, and nothyng [was] *dooen* or *agreed* upon in their matter." *Id.*, *ibid.*, fol. 121.

"And farther hath it gone by books written than by words spoken; and much more people [been] *converted*." Bp. John Bale (1550?), *Select Works* (1849), p. 332.

"And, returning unto Britanny, he sent forthwith Laurence, priest, and Peter, monke, unto Rome, which should make relation unto Saint Gregory, how that

what with ignorance and slovenry, not all of them are yet disused.

the Englishmen had received the faith, and he [been] *made* their bishop." Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, *The History of the Church of Englande* (1565), fol. 32, 33.

"For there are, in prynces courts, many tymes, certeyn suites that have a good and better end then [was] *looked* for." Sir Thomas North, *Dial of Princes*, Books III, IV, fol. 154 (ed. 1568). "The self same night the kyng, with al his concubines, dyed sodenly, and his realme [was] *taken* from him, and put into the hands of his enemyes." *Id., ibid.*, fol. 163. "The mylner, before the bankes [are] *broken*, repareth the dammes." *Id., ibid.*, sig. †iiii. r.

"The princes returned home, and due order [was] *taken* for the safety of the city." Anon., *Second Report of Dr. Faustus* (1594), p. 105 (ed. 1828).

"For, in respect of the age of this siege, that of Troy was but a child; it lasting seven and twenty yeares, and, at last, [was] not *taken*, but yielded up," etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639), p. 208 (ed. 1647).

"They had, by order from David, their hands and feet cut off; and they [were] *hanged* up over the pool in Hebron." "So that the tribe of Judah alone had more cities then all the island of Crete, which had but just an hundred, and therefore [was] *called* Hecatompolis." *Id., A Pisgah-sight*, etc. (*ut supra*), Books I-III, pp. 275, 284. "Barnabas sinks here in silence, and his name [is] *mentioned* no more in the history of the Scripture." "They abstained from it, as a colour sacred and mysterious, then which none [was] *more used* about the Tabernacle." "Her Hebrew name signifieth 'flocks,' either because [she was] *worshipped* in the form of a sheep," etc. *Ibid.*, Books IV, V, pp. 13, 98, 129.

"It began on Saturday night last, but [was] not *discovered* till Sunday morning." Col. Anthony Byerley (1666), in *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D. D.*, Part II (1872), p. 155.

"He, . . . to save his head, poorly turns priest; but, that not availing him, [he is] *carried* into Italy, and there put to death." Milton (1670), *Prose Works* (ed. 1868), Vol. V, p. 234. See also *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 179, 181, 193, 349, 355.

Our perfect participle and preterite being very intimately related, it is not wholly out of place to exemplify here a superannuated use of the latter of them, instead of the indefinite infinitive active. With regard to all except two of the passages given below, it is to be remembered that *but* was long in establishing itself in its eventual frequency as a preposition; it being refused recognition, as such, by stylists so late as King James's revisers of the Bible.

"What dude she but *lefte* that childe," etc. Anon., *Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum* (*ut supra*), p. 237. And see pp. 141, 159.

"We hadde none other remedy but *strake* downe our boote and *mannyd* her with ores." Anon., *The Pilgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* (1511), p. 68 (ed. Camden Society).

"But they found but vi. children, to whome they did nothing but *tooke* away theyr chaines," etc. Robert Copland, *Helyas* (1512), p. 76 (ed. 1827).

"These felowes . . . That with the Gospell melles, And wyll do nothyng elles But *trathynge* tales *telles*," etc. Anon., *A Pore Helpe* (*temp.* Hen. VIII), in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Remains*, etc., Vol. III, p. 253.

"They have done nothyng els but *lyved* in warre this thre or foure yere." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut supra*), Vol. I, p. 755. See also Vol. I, pp. 707, 735.

Witness a leash of specimens, to add to which is certainly unnecessary :

"You should have shown yourself a respectable man, and have let him *been* sent to prison." Mr. Douglas Jerrold, *Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures*, Lecture IV.

"Well, you see you were in the wrong, and had better let me *gone* my way." Anon., *No Church* (1861), Vol. I, p. 272.

"Time was lacking to me to make all the use of it I should *liked* to have done." Major R. D. Osborn, *Islam under the Arabs* (1876), Preface, p. xi.

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"All that season thou hast dooen nothyng but *receaved* gyftes." *Id.*, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (1534), sig. Y 8 v. (ed. 1546).

"He dyd noughte but *made* his kyn ryche of the goodys of the church." John Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (1529), p. 52 (ed. 1811).

"Nothing have they done less than *brought* unto Christ their glory." Bp. John Bale (1550), *Select Works* (1849), p. 613.

"And now, lest thou mayest justly complain, and say that I have, in opening of this matter, done nothing else but *digged* a pit," etc. Bp. Nicholas Ridley (1555), *Works* (1843), p. 14.

"It appeareth they did rather allude to the names used in the Old Testament, than *acknowledged* a sacrificing priesthood," etc. Rev. Dr. William Fulke, *A Defense*, etc. (1583), p. 262 (ed. 1843).

"What have they done but *conspired* against us, . . . and *joined* with our bitterest enemies to destroy us?" Thomas Hobbes, Translation of Thucydides (1629), Vol. I, p. 303 (ed. 1843).

"However, they would rather have died than *refused*." Madame D'Arblay (1788), *Diary and Letters* (ed. 1842, etc.), Vol. IV, p. 342.

At p. 30 of Dr. Johnson's translation of Father Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, as reprinted in 1789, we read "had done nothing but *told* us lies." The Scotch editor, Mr. George Gleig, is pleased to hope that the "English dress" of the work, as smartened by himself, "will be found free from many of the faults by which it was formerly disgraced." From p. 7 of the original edition, published in 1735,—a great rarity, of which I possess a copy,—it appears that Dr. Johnson wrote, as might have been expected, "had done nothing but *tell* us lies."